

Supplementary Appendix to Social Preferences:
Measuring Private, Public and Group Preferences
through focus groups

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Contents

1	Ethics, Crime and Punishments	1
2	Village Selection Protocol	3
3	Descriptive Statistics of Variables	5
4	Difference and Polarization by Gender	7
5	Determinants of Post-Discussion Preferences	12
6	Determinants of Preference Convergence	15
7	Focus Group Crimes and Punishments	18
7.1	Crime Construction and Comparability	18

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7.2 Punishment Construction and Context 18

8 References 18

1 Ethics, Crime and Punishments

One crime narrative is about rape, another about wife-beating, and another about theft.¹ Each is an example of a crime punishable under Congolese law.

As in any research involving vulnerable populations and particularly on a subject of violence against women, it is important to take precautions to protect human subjects at each stage of the research process. In addition to standard IRB human subjects protocols for participant recruitment, informed consent (with open communication that participants may opt out of the research at any point during the focus group), no deception, and confidentiality; research procedures were built around the following ethical guidelines.

Participants were never asked direct questions about experiences of rape or wife-beating. If discussion of ongoings in the community came up, participants were encouraged to leave the discussion anonymous. All questions about crimes were based on hypothetical rather than real scenarios, formulated to reflect commonly perpetrated crimes in the context.

In addition, the research focus was on punishment and what should be done in communities to respond to such crimes - emphasizing avenues of agency and support rather than the harm or victimhood. The protocols clearly informed the participants of the subject matter prior to their agreement to engage in the study and communicated to respondents that there was always an option to leave/opt out of the focus group or interview (or not respond) at any time.

In accordance with ethical guidelines for research on violence against women, I also chose not to hold focus groups with men and women together. A male enumerator led all discussions

¹In the few focus groups that enumerators presented the crimes in an order other than the randomization, the order that was actually implemented is coded.

with men and a female enumerator led all discussions with women.

Finally, this research sought to be highly inclusive for recruiting participants. The study is able to incorporate unlettered populations, particularly through the use of images for respondents to use when selecting their responses. Second, village chiefs were specifically tasked with identifying individuals from lower and upper strata of society to be included as potential participants.

Focus group participants were also asked to keep points raised by other participants during the focus group confidential. Research participants were offered a small refreshment during the focus group, but were not compensated monetarily. This decision reflects standard practice for research in South Kivu DRC, which I discussed in depth with scholars working in this area and with a local professional research organization (organization and individuals recognized in the Acknowledgements of the main paper) that helped to inform this research protocol. Substantial information about ethical decision-making about focus group content is included in the main text of this article.

It should be emphasized that this study uses a highly standard form of inquiry (focus groups) that includes a novel quantitative measurement about hypothetical crimes at the outset from which the quantitative measures described in this study are drawn. This project was approved by the International Review Board (redacted) and conforms to the “Principles and Guidance for Human Subjects Research” ([American Political Science Association 2020](#)) despite having been implemented prior to this specific guidance.

2 Village Selection Protocol

The 20 villages in which the 80 focus group took place were selected systematically, based on household surveys and leader surveys administered in 2011 and 2015. The original survey sample was of one of the largest community development programs in eastern DR Congo, notable for its breadth and inclusion of hard to reach villages. Since research efforts

(particularly focus groups) tend to cluster near a few large cities, this study comes closer to the actual distribution of villages in DR Congo.²

Despite its breadth, the sample is also weighted more towards villages recently exposed to armed conflict than the typical villages in South Kivu, DR Congo. Because of its relationship to a study designed to compare conflict and non-conflict villages through a matched pair design, an optimal algorithm was employed to match all villages that had been exposed to armed conflict in the past 5 years with villages that had not. 10 matched pairs were then randomly selected from the full set of matched pairs. Thus the selection - while weighted towards more conflict exposed villages - also has a random component that helps to approximate representativeness not often seen in studies with small samples in which focus groups often appear (e.g. or 20 villages).

The following characteristics (as measured in 2011) are summarized at the village level and employed in the matching specification. Several village-level variables relate to the treatment of women: attitudes towards women's equality, attitudes towards mistreatment of women, and levels of domestic and sexual violence (as measured in list experiments). These measures help to account for how gender inequality and gender-related violence might predict armed conflict exposure as well as social sanctioning.³ Community trust and ethnic fractionalization may indicate pre-existing divisions within communities that increase the likelihood of war exposure and decrease the potential for social sanctioning. I construct local measures of ethnic fractionalization based on local demographic data from the 2011 survey, a local measure based on the extent to which community members trust coethnics, and a comparison measure of trust in non-coethnics. International development programming, widespread in eastern DR Congo, may affect both whether a community is targeted and how communities prefer to

²Detailed information on this survey and the sample can be found in Humphreys et al. (2019).

³Empirical analyses have suggested that gender inequality and conflict exposure are statistically related (Caprioli 2005).

punish crimes.⁴ I include an indicator for whether the village did or did not receive the IRC's (randomly implemented) community driven development program in the matching algorithm. Finally, I incorporate a set of variables that the literature establishes as important predictors of armed conflict such as a locally relevant measures of wealth, security perceptions, exposure to previous war, and proximity to conflict-relevant geography such as mines, forests and mountains.

Covariate balance is achieved or substantively improved along many important dimensions: in terms of violence against women, attitudes towards women, community trust, and several geographic variables. I retain all variables in the original matching algorithm for transparency.

From the set of matched pairs, 10 pairs are randomly selected. The balance table below summarizes the characteristics that villages were matched on and checks for difference on those characteristics between treatment and control villages.

⁴For example, if armed groups know the IRC is working in a village, more repercussions may result from harmful attacks.

Table A.1: 2011 Covariate Means on Matched Variables in Final 20 subset

	Min	Max	Mean (NC)	Mean (C)	Diff	P(Diff)
Gender Attitudes	1.800	3.800	2.770	3.090	0.320	0.286
Mistreat Women	1.800	3.800	2.535	2.737	0.202	0.460
Tolerate VAW	1.200	3.800	2.075	2.320	0.245	0.488
Domestic Violence	-1.333	1.500	-0.055	0.192	0.247	0.473
Sexual Violence	-1.000	1.667	0.630	0.353	-0.277	0.340
No Income	0.000	1.000	0.584	0.643	0.060	0.640
Coethnic trust	0.400	2.800	1.270	1.323	0.053	0.848
Trust Coethnics More	0.000	1.000	0.450	0.493	0.043	0.759
Stolen Bike (security)	0.333	4.000	2.038	2.078	0.040	0.942
Wealth PCA1	-1.280	2.190	0.264	0.405	0.140	0.774
Wealth PCA2	-2.605	-1.012	-1.778	-1.561	0.217	0.323
Wealth PCA3	-1.536	1.378	-0.238	-0.273	-0.035	0.921
Ethnic Fractionalization	0.000	0.700	0.289	0.270	-0.019	0.878
Forest	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	NaN
Mountains	0.000	1.000	0.600	0.700	0.100	0.660
Mine	0.000	1.000	0.100	0.100	0.000	1.000
Tuungane Intervention	0.000	1.000	0.100	0.400	0.300	0.138

3 Descriptive Statistics of Variables

The following control variables are used.

Table A.2: Summary Characteristics of All Participants

	MIN	MAX	N	MEAN	SD
Age	18	100	995	36.67	15.60
Education	0	3	994	1.24	1.01
Years in Village (Categorical)	1	4	995	3.24	0.93
Frequency Meeting Others	1	4	995	3.49	0.84
Homogeneous Subgroup	0	1	995	0.60	0.49
Village-level Armed Violence (5 yrs)	0	1	995	0.51	0.50
Rape: Crime Order	1	3	995	2.06	0.83
Domestic Violence: Crime Order	1	3	995	1.92	0.79
Theft: Crime Order	1	3	995	2.02	0.83

Table A.3: Summary Characteristics of Female and Male Participants

	N(F)	MEAN(F)	SD(F)	N(M)	MEAN(M)	SD(M)
Age	537	33.67	13.61	458	40.19	17.01
Education	537	0.99	0.97	457	1.54	0.96
Years in Village (Categorical)	537	2.89	0.93	458	3.66	0.74
Frequency Meeting Others	537	3.36	0.97	458	3.64	0.62
Homogeneous Subgroup	537	0.65	0.48	458	0.54	0.50
Village-level Armed Violence (5 yrs)	537	0.49	0.50	458	0.53	0.50
Rape: Crime Order	537	2.06	0.86	458	2.07	0.78
Domestic Violence: Crime Order	537	1.85	0.75	458	1.99	0.83
Theft: Crime Order	537	2.09	0.82	458	1.94	0.84

Table A.4: Preference Variables for All Participants

	MIN	MAX	N	MEAN	SD
Punishment Preferences: Rape					
Private	1	4.00	993	3.18	1.22
Public	1	4.00	993	3.28	1.16
Group	1	4.00	993	3.55	0.97
Post-FG Private	1	4.00	993	3.33	1.15
Punishment Preferences: Wifebeating					
Private	1	4.00	993	1.91	1.23
Public	1	4.00	993	1.93	1.25
Group	1	4.00	993	1.73	1.15
Post-FG Private	1	4.00	993	1.85	1.23
Punishment Preferences: Theft					
Private	1	4.00	993	2.92	1.24
Public	1	4.00	993	2.94	1.23
Group	1	4.00	993	3.09	1.16
Post-FG Private	1	4.00	993	2.99	1.21
Preference Distance: Rape					
Private	0	2.80	993	0.80	0.65
Post-Disc Private	0	2.80	993	0.64	0.65
Preference Distance: Wifebeating					
Private	0	2.81	993	0.86	0.65
Post-Disc Private	0	2.80	993	0.77	0.67
Preference Distance: Theft					
Private	0	2.81	993	0.87	0.59
Post-Disc Private	0	2.75	993	0.75	0.60

Table A.5: Preference Variables for Female and Male Participants

	N(F)	MEAN(F)	SD(F)	N(M)	MEAN(M)	SD(M)
Punishment Preferences: Rape						
Private	537	3.21	1.23	456	3.13	1.20
Public	537	3.26	1.20	456	3.31	1.11
Group	537	3.55	1.01	456	3.56	0.92
Post-FG Private	537	3.36	1.16	456	3.31	1.13
Punishment Preferences: Wifebeating						
Private	537	1.79	1.21	456	2.04	1.24
Public	537	1.80	1.22	456	2.09	1.27
Group	537	1.56	1.05	456	1.94	1.23
Post-FG Private	537	1.68	1.16	456	2.05	1.28
Punishment Preferences: Theft						
Private	537	2.83	1.28	456	3.03	1.19
Public	537	2.85	1.28	456	3.05	1.17
Group	537	2.88	1.22	456	3.33	1.03
Post-FG Private	537	2.86	1.27	456	3.15	1.13
Preference Distance: Rape						
Private	537	0.76	0.67	456	0.85	0.62
Post-Disc Private	537	0.59	0.66	456	0.69	0.64
Preference Distance: Wifebeating						
Private	537	0.86	0.66	456	0.85	0.63
Post-Disc Private	537	0.74	0.69	456	0.80	0.65
Preference Distance: Theft						
Private	537	0.85	0.59	456	0.88	0.58
Post-Disc Private	537	0.77	0.61	456	0.73	0.60

4 Difference and Polarization by Gender

Figure 7 in the main paper is descriptive and includes no controls. To statistically test for differences between men and women and to account for the group nature in which the data was collected, I conduct an additional analysis where I combine (or stack) data from all outcomes and run one regression with several dichotomous indicators for whether the outcome is a private, a publicly expressed, a group, or a post discussion private preference. The base term for each coefficient is private preferences. When an interaction term is statistically significant, this means that it is statistically different from private preferences. Preferences

for punishing rape, wife-beating, and theft are depicted in Tables A.6-A.8. In each table, Model 1 includes individual-level fixed effects, Model 2 adds a control variable for the gender of the respondent, Model 3 adds an interaction term between the preference type and gender, and Model 4 adds individual-level fixed effects to Model 3.

The models in Table A.6 confirm what was presented descriptively in Figure 7. Publicly expressed, group choice and post discussion preferences for punishment are statistically different and more extreme than private preferences for punishing rape. Whether or not a respondent is male or female is not driving differences in how the public sphere affects private preferences for punishing rape.

Table A.7 confirms that group preferences for punishing wife-beating are statistically more extreme (less severe) than private preferences for punishing wife-beating. Models 2-4 in Table A.7 show that female respondents prefer less punishment for wife-beating across the board, but effects of the public sphere on preferences do not seem to be heterogeneous by gender.⁵ Both men and women prefer to punish wife-beating less as groups.

⁵There is also a loss in power when examining the interactions.

Table A.6: Private versus Group Outcomes: Rape

	Dependent Variable: Punishment Preferences			
	Ind.FEs	Stacked Outcomes		All
		Female.Ctrl	Female.Het	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Public (base=Private)	0.108** (0.050)	0.108** (0.043)	0.180*** (0.056)	0.180*** (0.065)
Group (base=Private)	0.379*** (0.098)	0.379*** (0.085)	0.425*** (0.106)	0.425*** (0.122)
PostDisc Private (base=Private)	0.159*** (0.057)	0.159*** (0.049)	0.175*** (0.067)	0.175** (0.078)
Female		0.014 (0.148)	0.077 (0.154)	-0.188*** (0.061)
Female x Public (base=Private)			-0.133 (0.091)	-0.133 (0.105)
Female x Group (base=Private)			-0.087 (0.113)	-0.087 (0.131)
Female x PostDisc Private (base=Private)			-0.030 (0.096)	-0.030 (0.111)
Constant	3.589*** (0.041)	3.168*** (0.106)	3.134*** (0.109)	3.805*** (0.046)
Indiv. Fixed Effects?	Yes	No	No	Yes
Observations	3,972	3,972	3,972	3,972
Adjusted R ²	0.495	0.014	0.014	0.495

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Standard Errors clustered at the village level (20 villages)

Table A.7: Private versus Group Outcomes: Wifebeating

	Dependent Variable: Punishment Preferences			
	Ind.FEs	Stacked Outcomes		All
		Female.Ctrl	Female.Het	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Public (base=Private)	0.029 (0.041)	0.029 (0.035)	0.053 (0.047)	0.053 (0.054)
Group (base=Private)	-0.172** (0.080)	-0.172** (0.069)	-0.101 (0.099)	-0.101 (0.114)
PostDisc Private (base=Private)	-0.053 (0.069)	-0.053 (0.060)	0.011 (0.064)	0.011 (0.073)
Female		-0.326*** (0.123)	-0.252** (0.123)	-2.926*** (0.068)
Female x Public (base=Private)			-0.043 (0.074)	-0.043 (0.086)
Female x Group (base=Private)			-0.132 (0.121)	-0.132 (0.140)
Female x PostDisc Private (base=Private)			-0.119 (0.097)	-0.119 (0.112)
Constant	1.049*** (0.043)	2.081*** (0.124)	2.042*** (0.119)	4.009*** (0.049)
Indiv. Fixed Effects?	Yes	No	No	Yes
Observations	3,972	3,972	3,972	3,972
Adjusted R ²	0.504	0.021	0.021	0.505

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Standard Errors clustered at the village level (20 villages)

Table A.8: Private versus Group Outcomes: Theft

	Dependent Variable: Punishment Preferences			
	Ind.FEs	Stacked Outcomes		All
		Female.Ctrl	Female.Het	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Public (base=Private)	0.021 (0.034)	0.021 (0.029)	0.022 (0.060)	0.022 (0.069)
Group (base=Private)	0.164** (0.083)	0.164** (0.072)	0.298*** (0.067)	0.298*** (0.078)
PostDisc Private (base=Private)	0.070 (0.055)	0.070 (0.047)	0.125** (0.051)	0.125** (0.058)
Female		-0.282** (0.144)	-0.194 (0.135)	-0.662*** (0.069)
Female x Public (base=Private)			-0.001 (0.102)	-0.001 (0.117)
Female x Group (base=Private)			-0.248** (0.109)	-0.248** (0.126)
Female x PostDisc Private (base=Private)			-0.101 (0.070)	-0.101 (0.080)
Constant	3.186*** (0.035)	3.076*** (0.091)	3.029*** (0.095)	3.889*** (0.041)
Indiv. Fixed Effects?	Yes	No	No	Yes
Observations	3,972	3,972	3,972	3,972
Adjusted R ²	0.533	0.015	0.016	0.535

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Standard Errors clustered at the village level (20 villages)

5 Determinants of Post-Discussion Preferences

Table A.9: Determinants of Post Discussion Private Preferences

	Dependent Variable: Punishment Preferences		
	Rape	Wifebeating	Theft
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Rape: Private	0.466*** (0.163)		
Rape: Private x Group	-0.050 (0.049)		
Rape: Group	0.479*** (0.132)		
DV: Private		0.149** (0.069)	
DV: Private x Group		0.053** (0.026)	
DV: Group		0.271** (0.105)	
Theft: Private			0.242* (0.131)
Theft: Private x Group			0.015 (0.034)
Theft: Group			0.375*** (0.088)
Female	-0.064 (0.111)	0.229 (0.223)	-0.896*** (0.154)
Education	0.038 (0.025)	0.050 (0.045)	-0.070* (0.041)
Freq. of Meeting others	0.001 (0.044)	0.029 (0.099)	0.081 (0.089)
Homogenous Subgroup	0.099** (0.041)	-0.121 (0.095)	0.073 (0.087)
Years in Village (Categorical)	-0.024 (0.036)	-0.010 (0.051)	-0.042 (0.043)
Armed Conflict in Village (5 yrs)	1.152*** (0.113)	-0.217** (0.110)	0.054 (0.064)
Crime Order: Rape	0.409*** (0.044)		
Crime Order: DV		0.078 (0.072)	
Crime Order: Theft			0.536*** (0.029)
Focus Group Fixed Effects? (N=79)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	992	992	992
R ²	0.528	0.478	0.554
Adjusted R ²	0.484	0.429	0.513

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Standard Errors clustered at the Village level (20)

Table A.10: Determinants of Post Discussion Private Preferences (Divided Data)

	Dependent Variable: Punishment Preferences					
	Rape		Wifebeating		Theft	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Rape: Private	0.598*** (0.180)	0.386* (0.226)				
Rape: Private x Group	-0.069 (0.049)	-0.046 (0.064)				
Rape: Group	0.584*** (0.114)	0.449** (0.178)				
DV: Private			0.332*** (0.120)	0.036 (0.072)		
DV: Private x Group			-0.011 (0.041)	0.095*** (0.036)		
DV: Group			0.392** (0.154)	0.201* (0.108)		
Theft: Private					0.466** (0.190)	0.155 (0.153)
Theft: Private x Group					-0.025 (0.052)	0.016 (0.046)
Theft: Group					0.468*** (0.154)	0.385*** (0.135)
Education	0.022 (0.045)	0.051 (0.054)	0.049 (0.088)	0.057 (0.044)	-0.040 (0.065)	-0.088** (0.035)
Freq. of Meeting others	0.085 (0.065)	-0.047 (0.050)	0.209 (0.157)	-0.054 (0.119)	0.194 (0.130)	0.005 (0.093)
Homogenous Subgroup	0.095 (0.069)	0.124 (0.091)	-0.236 (0.146)	-0.020 (0.107)	0.098 (0.099)	0.046 (0.120)
Years in Village (Categorical)	-0.006 (0.064)	-0.036 (0.054)	0.044 (0.088)	-0.037 (0.060)	-0.043 (0.083)	-0.044 (0.057)
Armed Conflict in Village (5 yrs)	0.090** (0.037)	1.261*** (0.151)	0.193 (0.169)	-0.325* (0.166)	0.248* (0.129)	0.039 (0.079)
Crime Order: Rape	0.349*** (0.054)	0.391*** (0.043)				
Crime Order: DV			0.229*** (0.070)	0.233** (0.094)		
Crime Order: Theft					-0.165* (0.093)	0.587*** (0.039)
Focus Group Fixed Effects? (N=79)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	455	537	455	537	455	537
R ²	0.512	0.551	0.519	0.430	0.559	0.552
Adjusted R ²	0.458	0.509	0.467	0.377	0.511	0.510

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Standard Errors clustered at the Village level (20)

6 Determinants of Preference Convergence

Table A.11: Private versus Post-FG Preference Distance: Rape

	Dependent Variable: Distance from Mean FG Preference			
	Ind.FEs	Stacked Outcomes		
		All.Ctrl	Female.Het.1	Female.Het.2
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
PostDisc Private (base=Private)	-0.162*** (0.059)	-0.164*** (0.041)	-0.155** (0.076)	-0.159*** (0.053)
Female x PostDisc Private (base=Private)			-0.013 (0.105)	-0.009 (0.074)
Female		-0.114 (0.084)	-0.668*** (0.157)	-0.101 (0.136)
Armed Conflict in Village (5 yrs)		-0.077 (0.122)		-0.077 (0.122)
Education		-0.070*** (0.026)		-0.070*** (0.026)
Freq. of Meeting others		0.033 (0.053)		0.033 (0.053)
Homogenous Subgroup		-0.045 (0.032)		-0.045 (0.032)
Years in Village (Categorical)		0.009 (0.030)		0.009 (0.030)
Crime Order		-0.063 (0.050)		-0.063 (0.050)
Constant	0.709*** (0.088)	1.163*** (0.271)	1.386*** (0.114)	1.156*** (0.283)
Indiv. Fixed Effects?	Yes	No	Yes	No
Observations	1,986	1,984	1,986	1,984
Adjusted R ²	0.470	0.041	0.470	0.041

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Standard Errors clustered at the village level (20 villages)

Table A.12: Private versus Post-FG Preference Distance: Wifebeating

	Dependent Variable: Distance from Mean FG Preference			
	Ind.FEs	Stacked Outcomes		
		All.Ctrl	Female.Het.1	Female.Het.2
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
PostDisc Private (base=Private)	-0.086 (0.067)	-0.086* (0.048)	-0.055 (0.065)	-0.054 (0.046)
Female x PostDisc Private (base=Private)			-0.057 (0.105)	-0.058 (0.075)
Female		-0.037 (0.065)	-0.314** (0.158)	0.050 (0.106)
Armed Conflict in Village (5 yrs)		-0.073 (0.113)		-0.073 (0.113)
Education		0.011 (0.023)		0.011 (0.023)
Freq. of Meeting others		-0.042 (0.043)		-0.042 (0.043)
Homogenous Subgroup		0.002 (0.040)		0.002 (0.040)
Years in Village (Categorical)		-0.011 (0.024)		-0.011 (0.024)
Crime Order		0.026 (0.064)		0.026 (0.064)
Constant	0.229** (0.101)	1.113*** (0.163)	0.583*** (0.097)	1.066*** (0.161)
Indiv. Fixed Effects?	Yes	No	Yes	No
Observations	1,986	1,984	1,986	1,984
Adjusted R ²	0.377	0.009	0.377	0.009

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Standard Errors clustered at the village level (20 villages)

Table A.13: Private versus Post-FG Preference Distance: Theft

	Dependent Variable: Distance from Mean FG Preference			
	Ind.FEs	Stacked Outcomes		
		All.Ctrl	Female.Het.1	Female.Het.2
		(1)	(2)	(3)
PostDisc Private (base=Private)	-0.111** (0.048)	-0.111*** (0.034)	-0.144** (0.068)	-0.144*** (0.048)
Female x PostDisc Private (base=Private)			0.062 (0.086)	0.062 (0.061)
Female		-0.016 (0.060)	-0.006 (0.129)	-0.108 (0.089)
Armed Conflict in Village (5 yrs)		-0.104 (0.064)		-0.104 (0.064)
Education		-0.021 (0.019)		-0.021 (0.019)
Freq. of Meeting others		0.003 (0.049)		0.003 (0.049)
Homogenous Subgroup		0.006 (0.037)		0.006 (0.037)
Years in Village (Categorical)		-0.023 (0.026)		-0.023 (0.026)
Crime Order		-0.075** (0.032)		-0.075** (0.032)
Constant	1.100*** (0.072)	1.275*** (0.179)	1.063*** (0.102)	1.325*** (0.188)
Indiv. Fixed Effects?	Yes	No	Yes	No
Observations	1,986	1,984	1,986	1,984
Adjusted R ²	0.359	0.027	0.360	0.027

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Standard Errors clustered at the village level (20 villages)

7 Focus Group Crimes and Punishments

7.1 Crime Construction and Comparability

All feature hypothetical local men (from the village) as perpetrators. To avoid the crime of rape being understood as a mistake by a disadvantaged youth, perpetrators of rape and wife-beating were both identified as married men. Theft and the crime of rape were also rendered comparable. Reflecting the context, two goats are stolen in the theft scenario, which is a low but accepted bride price; this is similar in value to a reparations payment owed to a family whose unmarried daughter is raped. The victimized woman is hospitalized in the stories about rape and wife-beating, suggesting that both acts resulted in physical harm. The families also bring forward the complaints.

7.2 Punishment Construction and Context

The “fellow villager” giving counsel is usually a male or female “elder” or “sage” in the community, an informal counsel that assists the village chief with local advising and conflict resolution. Village chiefs must work with police to send perpetrators of these crimes to jail, but 20 years is the official legal punishment for rape and is often pursued. Vigilante justice such as expulsion from the community and beating to death do occur. One role that several village chiefs describe is that they protect criminals from beating to death by angered populations.

8 References

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